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ABSTRACT

This paper reports the extent to which women participate and take leadership roles in educational administration in India, and looks at the impact of social and political forces affecting their participation. The participation of women in labor and management in developed and developing nations is reviewed to provide a broader context in which to view the Indian situation. The paper next discusses historical trends and regional differences, noting particularly the impact of the sexual desegregation of educational systems in many Indian states and of continued segregation in others. The paper then profiles the typical Indian woman administrator, describing her social origins, status mobility, occupational role commitment, role conflict, role performance, and career aspirations. Professional preparation and career development opportunities for women educators are also examined. In conclusion, the paper points out the significant changes that must be made before sex equity will be attained. Charts display changes in the economic roles played by women in the developed and developing nations; enrollment ratios by sex and percentages of female teachers in Third World countries; and increases in female enrollment in India between 1950 and 1980. (PGD)

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WOMEN IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION IN THE THIRD WORLD

--THE INDIAN CASE

by

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Women in educational administration and other professional leadership roles are noticeable by their scarcity both in the third world and in the industrialized countries. In the former, their low participation is often resultant from the underdevelopment of women's education and hence low availability. In the latter, despite full education and high availability, very few women are to be found in educational and other leadership positions. In fact, in many third world societies the incidence of female "seclusion" has thrown up more women educational administrators considering the low proportion of women who receive higher education in these societies.

Administration started as an all male affair into which women made (often unwelcome) incursions. The low presence of women in administration is explained by the continued belief in male superiority and female ineptitude in handling extra domestic leadership roles--a position which stands sufficiently challenged. The lot of the western woman was harder as she graduated into educational and other leadership as an equal contender with men and faced a combined male opposition, which had a vested interest in the "exclusion" of women from structures of power and influence. The rise and fall of the women's movement and the new wave of feminism coincide with the early rise and decline and again the resurgence of women in educational leadership in the US. There is questioning of male leadership in a predominantly female profession and efforts are afoot to generate information and awareness among women and about women besides identification of constraints and strategies for the professional preparation and development of women in educational administration. The third world women stand to gain from the struggle of their western counterparts who strove for formal equality and later affirmative action for translating the same into defacto equality. The third world women are, further, aided by the granting of constitutional and legal guarantees on equality between sexes in their countries, often accompanied by policies of protective/positive discrimination. However, the ubiquitous patriarchal social mould that extends beyond the institution of family, even at its liberal best offers or surrenders only partial equality to women, regardless of the ideological contexts. In recent times, women's participation in extra-domestic structures has often come from reasons of "social exigency", and women were expected to return to the hearth once the crisis was over, the world over. The third world patriarchy, orthodoxy and social customs are even more constrictive for the development of women. In the absence of any strong women's movement, it is a moot question whether purely legal and statutory equality and even positive discrimination policies will carry women far unless they learn to help each other and themselves. Professional women need to organise themselves both for their own professional growth and for providing leadership and direction to other women.

Against this broad canvas, the case of women in educational administration in India could be examined with a view to identifying constraints and facilitating structures and strategies for their professional preparation and development. In the absence of any data on women in educational administration anywhere, major reliance is placed on theoretical perspectives available from a growing body of research on them. This is being done to assess the validity of their application to a third world country, considering women face similar problems in a male dominated world in all contexts regardless of differences of ideology or of developmental levels. The difference is perhaps of degree not kind.

Table 1: World Labour Force by Sex and by Sector

		Agriculture		Industry		Service	
		1970	1980	1970	1980	1970	1980
Developing Countries							
	F	73.6	66.3	12.5	16.3	13.9	17.4
	M	62.8	55.7	17.7	21.6	19.5	22.7
Industrialized Market Economies	F	11.4	7.7	25.4	25.8	63.2	66.5
	M	12.0	8.5	44.6	45.9	43.4	45.6
Industrialized Centrally Planned Economies	F	31.7	21.5	29.6	33.1	38.6	45.4
	M	27.7	19.4	44.2	50.3	28.1	30.3
TOTAL	F	54.3	47.8	17.9	20.8	27.8	31.4
	M	49.2	43.5	25.7	28.8	25.1	27.7

Source: ILO Bureau of Statistics, World Labour Report, 2, Geneva, 1985. P. 205

The Gender Based Division of Labour

The participation of women in educational administration and other professional and managerial cadres reflects their standing in the labour force at large. Looking at the composition of the female work force of the world as a whole, we notice the shift from agriculture to non-agricultural occupations among women. In the third world, two-thirds of women workers are employed in agriculture (mostly of subsistence variety), whereas in the industrialized market economies a similar proportion of women is to be found in the service sector. The industrialized centrally-planned economies have the highest proportion of women in industrial occupations compared to the rest of the world, and 46% of their female force are in services.

An ILO Report (1983) notices a steady increase in the number of female employees in services unaccompanied by satisfactory progress in their representation at the middle or higher levels, the bulk of them abound in lower grade jobs in education, health and social services.[1] There is both a horizontal and vertical division of labour between sexes. The greater increase of women in services in industrial market economies and the no change situation in their participation in the more powerful industrial sector is an example of unequal division of labour between sexes horizontally. Women tend to enter spheres of declining importance to men, also the fields which become predominantly female tend to diminish in status and prestige. Further, within all occupations women are

[1] In Norway in 1977, there was only one woman among those holding 104 high ranking posts, although they formed 20% of the middle managers. In Belgium in 1980, women formed 3.5% of senior level; 32.1% at level 2, 40.9% at level 3 and 23.3% at level 4 in various ministries. In US, women account for half of civil servants but only 6.2% are in upper grade posts (GS 14-18), women hold 7 out of 462 top posts and only 140 of the 1027 heads of external services were women. In FRG in 1977, only 423 of 6454 higher grades in the government were held by women to include one director, one secretary, one ambassador. In Australia in 1981, women accounted for 42% in Fourth, 22% in Third, 10% in Second and none in First Division posts. In Canada (1980), women formed 35.6% in services but only 4% of managers. In 1981, in USSR women accounted for 82% of health, 74% of education and 73% of culture personnel, but only a few surfaced in top administrative cadres.

huddled at the lower rungs while men perform the supervisory or leadership roles.[1] Whether the majority of women are in subsistence agriculture as in the Third World or they form the bulk of the service worker as in the First World, their low status image comes out vividly. The picture of second world women is not too different considering their high labour force participation rates (50-60%). Public services apart, women are few and far between in management at the top.

Women in educational administration and the role of feminism

The case of the US represents the organized response of women to sex inequality as a form of social inequality. The under-representation of women in all top jobs is to be noticed in that country, but in education they make the ground force. Two-thirds of teachers are women and 86% of all principals are male. Men comprise only 16% of the elementary school teachers and hold 80% of the principalships at that stage. At the secondary level, half the teachers are female but men hold 97% junior high school principalships and 99% of the senior high school principalships.[2] The picture grows worse at higher levels. Women form 0.6% of the 1400 superintendents of school systems. The superintendent is typically an Anglo-Saxon, white, protestant, once-married male. Women at all levels earn lower salaries than men and are much less represented at state and national levels. Decision-making at the state and federal level is a male activity--considered terribly undemocratic taking into account the sex composition of the student body, teachers and administrators in the system. In fact, there has been a noticeable decline in proposition of women administrators in the last 50 years (Biklen and Brannigan, 1980:9). Considering that the entry requirements into educational administration are classroom teaching experience and some courses, easily acquired, one cannot look to shortages in the supply of potential administrators because of credential obstacles to explain why few women move up the traditional career ladder. (The relatively lower supply for other top administrative and other professional cadres is easily understood on account of very intensive graduate work programmes and higher qualification requirements.)

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[1] In 1980, women formed 42% of the total workforce in UK. Over 60% of these women worked in three service industries viz., clerical and related; education, health and welfare; and catering, cleaning and personal services and again at the bottom levels of these services. Women form 75% of all clerical management. There is a marked increase, however, in the numbers and percentages of women in university management courses. Number of women entering industrial employment and finance and accounting, marketing, selling and buying have gone up. These are seen as optimistic trends for vertical mobility of women. See for details, Cooper & Davidson, 1984.

[2] In 1974 in UK among full time teachers women formed 77% of the primary teachers and only 43% of the head teachers at that level. At the secondary level women formed 44% of all teaching and only 19% of head teachers. See Deem, 1978.

There is a surge of interest about the decline of women educational administrators in the last 50 years (McClure and McClure, 1974; Clement, 1975; Howard, 1975; Paddock, 1977; Schmuck, 1980; Gribskov, 1980). The assessment is that "the rise and the fall of the women school administrators approximates the peaks and valleys of the first American feminist movement of the late 1800s and early 1900s, and ... that the feminist movement was a crucial factor in producing the large numbers of women administrators of that period. When feminism declined, beginning about 1920 and continuing to slide down until the 1960s, so did the number of women who sought and gained management positions in education. With the resurgence of feminism in the last decade, women are again becoming more numerous in educational 'administration' (Gribskov, 1980)."[1]

In 1920, 47% of all students in higher education were women. The number of women doctors was higher in Boston during 1890 than in 1950, the recent increase in female medical students parallels the rebirth of feminism. In 1928, women accounted for 55% of elementary teachers; 1/4 of all county superintendents in the US.; 62% of county superintendents in 11 Western States; 45 of 2853 superintendents of city school systems; 55 among 585 heads of departments of education, 16% of state school officers. In 1972-73, only 19% of elementary school principals, 5% chief state school officers and less than 1% of superintendents were female. Similar low proportions were visible in all other areas of educational administration. The great depression hit women the most. Women had brief opportunity in educational administration during the two world wars because of absence of men. The post-war 'feminine mystique' and the baby boom crippled the feminist movement and two generations of women professionals were lost (Gribskov, 1980: 77-91).[2] The rebirth of a feminist ideology "has proved a spark for women educators to investigate their position within our schools and has added fuel to the fire of change." The consciousness raising groups, the word sexist, active coalitions of professional women, female students blazing new pathways, girl athletes, women's trade unions and federal funds directed at achieving education equity among sexes all form an important backdrop for changing women's role in education (Schmuck, 1980: 239-260).

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[1]Gribskov substantiates this thesis on the basis of the study of the history of women in educational administration in eleven Western States of the U.S.A.

[2]The crisis labour theory points to the use society puts its women to in times of need and asks them to go back to the kitchen once the requirement is over. German women faced this. Decimation of males during great wars brought out a large number of women into productive labour in Eastern Europe. Women entered manual work, technical work and white collar work in large numbers. Now thinking is afloat as to how to stop certain occupations like education and health from being totally feminized.

Researchers are making significant contribution by analysing the sex bias in school leadership; careers of women educational administrators, their performance, their movitations and aspirations; and changing women's representation in school management through leadership training conceptualization and action projects. Estlar (1975) posits three world views or models to analyse the low participation of women in educational administration viz., (i) The woman's place model, where different socialization patterns for boys and girls are reinforced through institutional practices and provide appropriate training for the adult world of work which has jobs for men and jobs for women; (ii) The discrimination model which suggests that the preferential hiring and promotional policies explain the sexist imbalance in educational administration; (iii) The meritocracy model where people are promoted according to their ability. Studies on men and women principals conclude that women perform as well as men on every performance measure and better on some.[1] Estlar's data did not support this model as offering the explanation for low female participation. Clement (1975) found the woman's place model and the discrimination model were most useful in providing a framework for discussing the barriers to women's access to and progress in educational administration. She analysed that the early training of men through games and interaction with peers in highly task oriented situations gets them ready for upward mobility. Women face absence of influential networks, peer visibility, lack of good training by mentors. For competent women, the bias at the entrance is not, so much, but their career orientation is the real impediment. This stems from their early training for the legitimate female adult role which permits marriage or work for women not so for men. Further, women receive person centred feedback--more on their personality and not on their task performances. Prejudicial hiring practices are again seated in men's socialization about women and would require a great deal of training, acculturation and acclimatization for men so that they could become aware of their biases. Clement arrived at the conclusion that at entry point the woman's place model explained the initial barriers to access, but movements towards the top could be better analysed through the discrimination model. Women, she felt, tend to think of careers in terms of comfort and satisfaction. The job description for top administrative posts is--very isolated, hard work, long hours, much responsibility, continued visibility, criticism, uncertainty, risk-taking, that many women see as very unpleasant. Men have a wife to support as they are moving up the ladder, women unless childless or single cannot have a comparable life style of "family firemen." As long as the society in which we live defines the status of women, regardless of their occupation, in terms of their roles as wife and mother this will be the case. The society is also composed of men who are bosses, potential mentors and members of school committees. That their vision of women as predominantly that of wife and mother acts as a constraint on access of women to top management positions and, also, makes life even more difficult for those few women who manage to achieve. Administration is not a friendly place and women lack the close personal relationships that men often get from their jobs. Being few, women do not find

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[1]Also, see for instance, Paddock, 1977; Norman, 1970; Fishel & Pottker, 1975; Gross and Trask, 1976; Morsink, 1970; Taylor, 1963.

support from each other, and power in organisations finally rests with men, and hence most women find traditional female behaviour more rewarding. Tokenism--and its counterpart superstar--asks too much of them as persons and it either dooms them to failure or forces them to project negative images of their roles (Clement, 1975).

Another significant contribution of feminist scholars is the launching of action projects for leadership training for increased effectiveness among women educational administrators, to which we shall return later. Also, I do not want to forget the role of State intervention in equalization of educational and employment opportunities for women through affirmative action or positive discrimination. Women's movements did a considerable job by raising relevant issues which drew state and public attention.

Affirmative Action/Positive Discrimination

The governments of some countries have been able to increase the number of women employed in public services on account of their ability to take direct action in these fields. Proportions of women in newly recruited staff have doubled or even trebled in certain cases. At the same time the authorities have concentrated on identifying and eliminating obstacles hindering women's access to public service jobs.

Canada has been able to replace discriminatory procedures with measures conducive to the employment of women due to its affirmative action strategy. Women's participation has increased to 26.3% in 1980. The regulations and guidelines of the US. Federal Equal Opportunity Recruitment Programme established under the 1978 Civil Service Reform Act requires the administration to pursue a continuous recruitment policy to eliminate the under-representation of women and minorities. Norway and Sweden have laid down quotas for jobs for women under their positive discrimination programmes. France, U.K. and FRG, however, while supporting equality do not favour positive discrimination as they feel it goes against the tenet of equality, per se.

According to a directive of the Philippines government (5 January, 1980), women must be integrated into national development. All ministries, agencies, local governments and public undertakings are expected to take positive steps to promote equality of opportunity and treatment in employment. Qualified women are to have access to planning and decision-making posts at the local, national and international levels. Bangladesh has made provision for 10% reservation of jobs for women in public services and an additional 10% posts in the public services are reserved for women affected by the liberation war.

In India, positive discrimination is made to promote the educational chances of women by provision of incentives for them, but no quotas are assigned in public services recruitment. Reservations in public services exist for two historically disadvantaged groups, viz. the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes to the extent of their share in the population ie. 15% and 7% respectively. Even within these groups, as no reservations are made for women, the benefit of protective discrimination goes to men only, as women of these classes are unable to even reach the required levels of education and training. Within educational administration the same criterion apply, and men of these sections are increasingly utilizing this reservation. Women of these groups are outside the fold of education/higher education and thus get left out.

The Rise of Women Educational Administrators in India

The rise of women educational administrators in India, as in many other third world societies practising female seclusion, is owed to the expansion of women's education in separate institutions headed by women. Corresponding to the prevalent social norm of taboo on mixing with non-family males (especially among upper caste, upper class women who took to modern education), female inspectorates were created within the departments of public instruction for inspecting the work of girls' schools. This practise continues in some states even now, other states have amalgamated the male and female cadres at the supra school levels.

It would, however, be erroneous to project that sex segregation was prevalent thoughout India. It is true that in undivided India, the entire Northern parts which came under Muslim influence, orthodox Hinduism and foreign invasions, sex segregation became a rule. The north-eastern tribal belt outside the Hindu-caste fold, often with matrilineal, matrilocal cultures, did not witness this phenomenon. Even in the Southern states, female seculsion was not practised very strictly. In fact, in coastal Malabar now Kerala, again matrilineal/matrilocal social structure, early influence of Christianity, an enlightened princely ruler and a socialist government later gave a fillip to education in general and particularly of women. The results are all too obvious as Kerala is an outstanding example of female participation in education (as students, as teachers and as administrators) and has higher status of women. The birth rates are low, age at marriage is high, female mortality and infant mortality are low. Participation of women in white collar work is high.

It would be interesting to note that female enrollments are the lowest in a majority of the northern states and certain tribal and Muslim belts in Central and South India. The nine educationally backward states (having 75% of non-enrolled primary age group children, bulk of whom are girls) receiving special attention just now are Jammu & Kashmir, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Assam, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh. These states are also the underdeveloped parts of India, economically speaking. Female literacy and enrollments are the poorest in Uttar Pradesh, Bajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar (these four states put together account for a third of the country's population and bulk of the illiterates). While most other states have either already merged the male and female cadres or are in the process of doing so, these States continue to have separate inspectorates. It needs to be pointed out that while a case still exists for providing female teachers to attract more girls to schools in certain areas, separate inspecting cadres are long redundant as sex segregation among the educated sections has broken down to a great extent. (Interestingly, Pakistan and Bangladesh have continued to have segregated inspectorates but their female enrollments have not picked up either and women's education continues to be a major challenge.)

In fact, separate inspecting cadres do not help even women, as the number of posts in female cadres are far fewer than the takers (ie. the number of women teachers and principals). Wherever the cadres have been merged, the common seniority has helped many more women to come up at all levels of educational administration. Women directors of education, additional directors, joint directors, deputy directors and district education officers are a small but a highly visible minority. These serve the purpose of the Director of Education or Director of Public Instruction and are mostly held by general civil service cadres (Indian Administrative Services). Women from I.A.S. have headed departments of education and the secretariats in the States. Only, last year the Ministry of Education was headed by a woman, the Education Secretary and Joint Secretary and Deputy Secretary at the Centre were women. The University Grants Commission was headed by a woman who was an ex-vice-chancellor and a district education officer.

It also needs to be kept in mind that, although provision for direct recruitment in educational administration exists in many states, merit-cum-seniority is the norm for promotions. The pool from which women administrators at higher levels are drawn is made from among the women principals of girls' schools. Despite the impression that India is a highly sex segregated society, it would be of interest to note that less than 8% of all educational institutions were for girls alone in 1950-51, and three decades later the proportion of single-sex female-headed schools for girls remains the same. The female enrollments have grown from 6.5 million to nearly 40 million, during the same period, registering more than a six-fold increase. The absolute figures of women headed institutions (including 500 degree colleges) have risen to around 50,000 compared to 17.4 thousand in 1950-51 (a three-fold increase).

The proportion of women in educational administration gets reduced in separate female cadres. The fact remains that separate girls' schools continue to be headed by women only in all states, and the co-educational and boys' schools are headed by men only. Haryana and Chandigarh provide examples where women have headed not only boys' secondary schools but also some troubled boys' degree colleges. Kerala has a 60:40 proportion among men and women district education officers, the recruitment is both direct and by promotion. In Delhi, women form around 50% of the educational administrators, more than half the teachers at the school stage and more than 40% of students at all levels of education.

In West Bengal, the Deputy Director of School Education (Administration) is a woman, and around half of the district education officers and inspecting officers are female. "There are highly qualified women--married to professinal men--who are unwilling to move out of the place of their residence even for promotion. The government is now preparing district wide panels to get the best candidates, especially women, who are very capable but unable to move very long distances. There are more over-qualified women than men." In Maharashtra, among Class I of the State Education Service, 10 out of 125 posts are held by women.

The case of Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh further substantiate that women's cadres in educational administration are "separate and unequal." Rajasthan has the lowest female literacy rates and female enrollments. There are districts in Rajasthan with female literacy levels below 3% and poor female enrollments. Women are not allowed to move out of the houses for any social intercourse and the climatic conditions are so harsh that survival itself is threatened. Of course, women walk miles to fetch a pot of water. There is a separate cadre of women below the Director of Education's level right up to headships of secondary schools. However, of the 27 districts only three have women district education officers who are located in the Deputy Director's office. The recruitment is both through direct entry and by promotion. Each district has not more than one higher secondary/secondary school and in Jaisalmer for instance, there are hardly one or two girls each in the six middle and eight primary schools for girls. "Women administrators have no role here. Girls do not come to schools." (A District Education Officer from Rajasthan).

In Uttar Pradesh, there is a parallel set of women education officers below the Director of Education right up to school headship, as in Rajasthan. Primary education is co-educational. Twenty percent of the middle schools and seventeen percent of the secondary are special girls' schools headed by women. There are high schools for boys in all developmental blocks (lowest administrative unit), but for girls even at the tehsil level (8-9 blocks) there are few high schools. The female directorate has only 15 Class I posts whereas there are 149 Class I posts held by males. The proportion apart, their powers in the same rank are different. For example the regional inspectresses (12 in all) are equivalent to men Deputy Directors in rank but their pay scale is lower and power less. If there is a dispute between a woman principal and the management, the matter has to be referred to a Deputy Director male in the region. The district level primary education officers (Basic Shiksha Adhikari) have male and female counterparts. The BSA (male) oversees both male and female inspecting cadres below him. The woman BSA and Deputy Inspectors of girls schools have only inspection powers. The male Deputy Inspector draws and disburses salaries for both male and female subordinates. In sum, men handle all the administrative powers even at ranks parallel to women. There is only one woman district inspectress of schools out of a total of 56 such Class I officers and she does not belong to the women's cadre but is a direct entry through provincial civil services examination. She is bright and diligent and is disowned by the women's cadre.

The Profile

Research on women educational administrators as a social category is a relatively uncharted area in the third world. There is a growing body of social evidence on professional women, their status, their role conflicts, their commitment and aspirations. Studies of educated working women have so far been aggregative, clubbing high status professionals like doctors, scientists, academics, executives, administrators with women in semi-professions like school teaching and nursing and other white collar workers such as clerks, steno-typists and telephone operators. The differing social class origins and accordingly differing family role structures, together with differing occupational role structures and the corresponding demands on these women indicates the need for a differentiated treatment of each occupational category individually and in comparison to one another.[1] An attempt will be made to build a profile of the Indian woman educational administrator based on the few available studies employing intensive field work techniques leading to case studies (Nayar 1974, 1983, 1985). (i) Social Origins: Typically, the Indian woman educational administrator is an urban, upper caste, middle class, first-generation working woman with an educated father, a professional husband and brothers and sisters who are educated and professional too. Education of women in India, as in many third world ex-colonies, started as an auxiliary development of the modern education of men in response to the new structures of status and occupations for men in colonial bureaucracies and the consequent demand for compatible educated wives and mothers of future generations. Attitudes of educated middle class males were positive to the development of women's education, some of these men led the social reform movements and the Indian renaissance in the 19th Century. The "social exigency" here was raising the quality of Indian family life by educating women, who could be allowed to be taught only by women in female headed institutions. This gave rise to the birth of a large number of first time administrators of education, our woman principals, who also form the catchment pool from which area officers of educational administration were chosen. Women did not enter as contenders to males but in separate female cadres, again propitiating patriarchal dominance and control over the lives of women, so long as women remain in separate cadres they do not face much discrimination vis-a-vis male counterparts. The trouble starts when these cadres are merged and the female minority contends for positions ordinarily and earlier occupied by men in educational administration. It would be easier to understand the social dynamics of educational administration if we point out that the average male educational administrators are often lower middle class, upwardly mobile, first-generation educated rural males with modest academic ability (as education is a very low priority occupation for men). ii) Status mobility: The addition of an occupational role to their existing family centred role structure has important economic and social status dimension for themselves and for the Indian family. Besides occupational mobility, these women represent, on upward shift in the status of women, both individually and as an historically disadvantaged group. They also represent a movement away from traditional to egalitarian sex role perceptions.

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[1]See, for instance, a few entries in the bibliography.

Their age at marriage is much higher and the family size is small by national norms. They have an equal share in family decision-making concerning family budget, savings and investments and children's education and career. They have full personal autonomy in terms of professional work and have the freedom to select and meet friends and colleagues. They do not report any external restrictions. "I am free to go out to parties and movies alone, but I don't like to do so." The family division of labour stays skewed. All the hard jobs are done by paid female help, ordinarily. Husbands chip in on extra-house errands like marketing and, at times, helping children with their "home work." However, interviews show that in the absence of paid help, husbands do help.

These women see their own occupation as an important element of their role structure and a source of an independent identity. Few see father or husband as the sole determinant of a woman's status. Respondents report a significant improvement in their status as women compared to women of earlier generations and state their high occupational position raises their status vis-a-vis their families and friends.

There is noticeable movement from traditional to the egalitarian end of the continuum in the sex role perceptions of women. They see themselves in equal terms to men in extra domestic spheres of education and employment; see work as a right for women, express confidence in their ability to perform as well as men and feel most occupations can be handled by women with equal ease. For some like education, health, etc., they feel women are more suited. They, however, see relatively more diverse occupational roles for their daughters. Within the family they see an equal status in decision-making, personal autonomy and division of labour (should a case arise) but in the core mother-wife roles hold to the primacy of the interests of children and husband, in that order. Age is an important variable in sex-role ideology of women educational administrators and there are regional variations too. Younger women are more egalitarian and confident in their outlook, comparatively speaking. Delhi, Haryana, Puhjab show more egalitarian trends and so do women administrators from West Bengal, Maharashtra and Kerala, for instance. Fairly highly placed women administrators from Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan give more traditional responses among other respondents. iii) Occupational role commitment: The respondents have continuous careers and have continued to work after marriage and the arrival of children. They have no intention of changing their occupation and give education/administration as their first career preference. They have not refused promotions but may have resisted transfers. The majority started working to use their education for gaining independent careers, income and status and were not driven by economic necessity. While they see a broad role for professional organisations, they do not participate in these. In fact, professional organisation of educational administrators is a very recent phenomenon and has not touched even a minority of males as yet, let alone women. The respondents give democratic responses to issues of educational decision-making by and large.

iv) Role Conflict: These dual career women report low conflict between the occupational and the familial roles. As several studies report, child care is a major source of conflict for most working women. These women become administrators at a fairly advanced stage of their family life and have put behind the problem of raising small children (surrogate care is both accepted and available in the forms of cheap female domestic helps and other non-working senior family women). Their present resource level is substantial to employ others for household drudgery. Their satisfactions from their occupational status in terms of prestige, privileges, and social standing further make it easier for them to ignore the "double burden" as a minor irritation. However, the situation is likely to change when separate cadres get abolished and when these women will have to expend more time on professional preparation and development to stay on and make progress in educational administration. The women administrator who is higher placed than her husband faces role conflict in the family situation. v) Role Performance: Women educational administrators appear to handle their professional responsibilities with equal ease compared to their male counterparts. The women's institutions, on an average, appear to be better organized and neater on account of their eye for detail. Women heads of institutions are seen as effective leaders, some are democratic others in the mould of matriarchs (the proverbial mother-in-law syndrome). Their type of leadership needs to be further explored.

In a study of the heads of secondary schools in Haryana and Indian State, no significant differences are noticed in the leadership behaviour of male and female neads of schools along twelve dimensions, viz., representationism, demand, reconciliation, tolerance uncertainty, persuasiveness, initiating structure, tolerance freedom, role assumption, consideration, production emphasis, predictive accuracy, integration and superior orientation. The study found that, of various dimensions of leadership, integration is significantly related (at 0.05 level) with sex as a variable. This suggests that female heads are better than males in working together as a team; settling conflicts when they occur in the group; coordinating the work; helping group members in solving their differences; and maintaining a closely knit group. Both the headmasters and the headmistresses were found to be almost equally effective as far as their leadership behaviour in schools, as perceived by their teachers, is concerned. Leaving aside one dimension, this study supports the finding of Morsink (1970). A review of behavioural and attitudinal studies on the performance of women principals on issues related to--instructional supervision, relations with students, parents, community, general administration, teacher attitudes towards and attitudes of women principals towards their jobs--women fared better than men. They were found more capable in areas that involved relating to students, staff or parents. The perceived effectiveness of women principals was found to be as high as that of their male counterparts, if not higher (Fischel and Pottker, 1977). A study of role performance by Bhagia (1985), under progress, gives similar indications.

vi) Career aspirations: These career mobile women express high career aspirations and would like to reach the top of the educational administrations in their respective states. Some, however, express genuine apprehensions of discrimination and see the reality in clearer terms. For instance, women in separate women cadre (U.P.) who have reached the narrow penultimate rung of their cadre would like to go up further but know there is only one post of a Joint Director above them and only one of the fifteen of them (regional directoresses and deputy directors) will make it. Younger women in mixed cadres are more confident and positive about their ability to make it to the top, everywhere.

Professional Preparation and Career Development

Most educational administrators including women are one time teachers who become institutional heads and later get promoted or selected to area administration. There are no formal requirements of professional training in educational administration, as such, though some education departments in the Universities offer it as a paper in the Bachelors of Education or Masters of Education Programmes and as specialization for Ph.D. programmes in education. Traditionally, the requirement is a master's degree in a subject and a teaching degree along with it for teaching senior secondary classes, principalship and administrative posts in educational directorates. For the direct entrants at several levels the requirements vary from state to state and at times a teaching degree is not compulsory but post graduate qualifications are often required. The educational administrators come to their appointments without any professional preparation for administration.

There is a growing realization that training is necessary, pre-service if possible, but in-service definitely. No organisation is expected to go far without adequate provision for staff development through short-term/long-term training, refresher courses and advanced training in its particular field of interest. And all this requires a sound research base and inputs. Professionalization of educational administration is at a low in the developing third world on account of, meagre training facilities, insufficient staff development policies and lack of professional organisation of educational administrators. How will it affect women educational administrators?

In India, for instance, some infrastructure exists at the national level for the in-service training of educational administrators and planners. The National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration conducts research, training and consultancy in the area of educational planning and administration and is making an attempt to help develop such expertise at the state level, for it cannot (and should not) cater singly to around 650,000 heads of institutions at all levels of education and to thousands of educational administrators manning state, district and block level administration of education, besides those administering higher education. Within this constraint, NIEPA trains educational administrators annually including area officers of district and state level, and some institutional heads. Within this a broad observation is that very few women educational administrators come to NIEPA for training. Whether it is on account of their small numbers/proportion at the district and state levels or that they are not encouraged to come by their departments and/or

families needs to be explored. In an average group of 20-25 trainees for a course, there are never more than one or two women, at times none. The only exception is a course run for women degree college principals numbering 25-30 annually. This year short orientation programmes for women secondary school principals and women area education officers are being started by NIEPA.

So long as women had an upward mobility channel independent of men in female cadres continued effort to participate in professional development programmes and activities was perhaps not as crucial. When they come to compete in open cadres, some of the disabilities of their sex roles are bound to affect their life chances. For instance, it is known that women principals often refuse promotions as area officers on account of their families. The fact of their low geographical mobility is all too known, as the place of their family residence is determined by the location of the husband who, mostly, is a higher status professional, in the case of those women who are married. Single women do move out and up relatively more easily. Occasionally, the explanation for their low participation in in-service training programmes is given as the reluctance on the part of women administrators themselves or their families. There is a definite need to explore their under-representation in professional training programmes and wnether it is due to some genuine constraints or sheer neglect.

As yet, no research evidence on women facing disciminiation in educational administration or other public services exists. Popular writings and interviews indicate the subtlety of the whole process wherever discimination is illegal. Exploration is needed in this area. For instance, quoting a young male district education officer of an Indian State, "We give equality to women. In fact, they are doing better and are highly qualified. Our Deputy Director of Education (Administration) is a woman and we all depend on her for everything. Women can't move away from their families. So in order to get their talent, which we need, our government is forming district panels for Assistant Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors which is to be done by direct recruitment." His other remark that, recently, for 14 general places of district education officers women applied but not one was selected. Only one woman got in against a reserved post for women.

In India, despite a sufficiently long history of women as educational administrators, stereotypes regarding women in the minds of men, who are bosses, are not very different from their Western counterparts: "To be a woman is to provoke an automatic, irrational, institutionalized judgement that one is dangerously incapable of being a leader, simply because one is female." (Biklan and Brannigan, 1980).

As told by a young woman District Inspector of Schools, a direct recruit to the provincial eduation services of a large Indian state. "When two of us joined the P.E.S., we were not given principalships of intermediate colleges and were instead made district officers in charge of primary education. The women's colleges were all headed by women's cadre and was not thought fit to make us heads of boys' inter-colleges on the grounds we shall not be able to control them. Even for my present appointment, I was asked whether I would be able to head a district administration by my director. I said, 'why not Sir? Why don't you try?' The male colleagues of our batch got the districts according to their seniority."

Conclusion

It is important to raise some central questions regarding the place of women in educational administration in India and other third world countries, for here too the bulk of the educated women enter teaching. In India women form roughly a third of the student body and teachers, but a very small proportion comparatively are educational administrators.[1] The situation in Sri Lanka is not too different, where women form 54% of the teachers and more than half the number of students. At the secondary level, there are 6 girls to 4 boys. A similar situation also occurs in Philippines where women formed 85% of the first level teachers (similar to the American case) and 53% of the teachers in higher education in 1982. Earlier we have noted the 1980 government act in Philippines that is working for sex equity in all public services including education. The low participation of women in educational administration is a fact of third world countries which have low female enrollments and lower projections of teachers who are female, and also where female enrollments and teachers outnumber men (See Tables 1 & 2 at Appendix). This phenomenon needs to be carefully studied for working out training models for professional development of women educational administrators.

Earlier, we noted the influence of the women's movement in promoting sex equity and also the affirmative action by governments in the West. The important aspect to be noted is the initiative taken by women in developing programmes for leadership training for increased effectiveness among women educational administrators (Winslow, 1980)[1] and major projects like Sex Equity in Educational Leadership (SEEL)[2] funded by Women's Education Equity Act (WEEA) (Schmuck, 1980). The setting up of the Association of Women's Education Administration in Oregon is another step towards professionalisation of women education administrators.

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[1]Leadership and Learning, Inc. is a non-profit firm incorporated in June, 1977, initially as a Carnegie funded project--now located at Center School, Lincoln, Massachussetts, 01773. Since 1973, this organisation is offering in-service programmes in personal growth and professional effectiveness with special emphasis on women. Women administrators are isolated and have little of a professional support system. Questions raised are, "How do women enter a school system? Do they find encouragement and helpful advice from other women, other men administrators? Do supervisors encourage upward mobility? What personal and professional support system do they find? Do they develop some? In what way are these systems helpful? Do the males share their information and/or political network? How do women administrators learn on the job? Is the learning different for women than for men?" Two groups, 16 women at different levels of district educational administrator and six women from different districts, have formed a collective support.

[2]The Sex Equity in Educational Leadership Project (SEEL) is funded by Women's Education Equity Act (WEEA) for 1976-79. WEEA serves as an important change in federal priorities--first crack in the federal bureaucracy concerning women's education equity, and yearly funds about 80 projects. SEEL was created to develop and test strategies (in Oregon) to increase women's representation in school management. The strategy is multi-level and aims at changing individual's perspectives by providing information, making issues visible and attacking negative stereotypes, changing issues and attacking negative stereotypes, changing organisational perspectives, getting organized to include male allies, getting hired and dealing with isolation at the top.

In India and other third world countries that became independent during 1950, a slackening of the women's movement and women's participation in public and political decision-making was noticed. During the UN Decade for women, a resurgence and awakening of women about themselves is to be noticed, but, as yet, sex equity issues get lost or submerged in battles against dire poverty and underdevelopment. There is a clear realization that women are to be actors in development and not beneficiaries and targets only. As yet in India, where we have seen re-awakening among womenhood in the last decade very prominently, the issues that are more immediate appear to be focussed on raising the economic and consciousness levels of a large mass of Indian women who are illiterate and unaware of their legal and constitutional rights. Organisations of professional women for achieving sex equity in professions are yet to emerge. It would be of interest to develop this facet by studying the existing efforts of women elsewnere and by networking with the same. A beginning has to be made in the direction of the professional preparation and development of women educational administrators in India and the third world both on grounds of equity and efficiency.

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	Enrolment Ratios at the First, Second and Third Levels										Percentage Females Teachers at Ist IInd and IIIrd Level			
		First Level			Second Level			Third Level						
ne of the untry	Year	M	F	% of F	M	F	% of F	M	F	% of F	Year	First Level	Second Level	Thir Leve
ia														
ghanistan	1981	56	13		18	5		2.8	0.5		1981	21	18	7
ngladesh	1981	72	52		24	5		4.9	0.8		1981	8	7	12
tan	1983	30	16		5	1		0.4	0.1		1970	14	NA	27(
rma	1977	87	81		22	18		-	-		1970	42	NA	NA
dia	1980	93	64		39	20		12.5	4.7		1980	26	23	18
onesia	1982	124	116		38	27		5.5	2.7		1982	33	27	17
an	1982	112	81		48	32		5.1	2.2		1982	47	30	14(
q	1982	114	103		70	39		13.4	6.5		1982	58	45	18
pan	1981	100	100		92	93		39.9	20.3		1981	57	26	14
rea, Dem. p. of	1976	118	114		-	-		-	-		-	NA	NA	NA
rea Repu.of	1983	102	99		94	85		33.1	13.5		1983	41	28	17
laysia	1981	94	91		54	51		5.2	4.0		1983	47	46	28
ldives	-	-	-		-	-		-	-		-	-	-	NA
pal	1980	126	53		33	9		4.8	1.2		1980	10	9	16
kistan	1981	57	31		20	8		2.8	1.1		1981	31	30	12
llippines	1981	109	107		60	64		24.4	28.9		1982	85	NA	53
ngapore	1982	111	105		65	66		12.4	8.8		1982	69	54	20
Lanka	1981	106	101		49	54		3.2	2.4		1972	52	NA	17(
ailand	1980	98	94		30	28		-	-		1980	49	24	57(

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Progress of Girls Education in India during 1950-51 and 1980-81 (in 000s)

	Pre-primary	Primary (Class I-V)	Middle (Class VI-VIII)	Secondary (Class IX-XII)	College & Univy. (Gen. Edn)	Professional Edn. (College level)	Vocational & Tech. Edn. (School level)	Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
1950-51	13 (89)	5,380 (39)	534 (22)	161 (16)	41 (16)	6 (10)	259 (19)	6,40 (33
1955-56	31 (68)	7,649 (44)	868 (26)	318 (26)	84 (20)	13 (9)	235 (15)	9,18 (37
1960-61	82 (85)	11,400 (48)	11,670 (35)	541 (25)	150 (27)	33 (13)	422 (25)	14,26 (42
1965-66	122 (87)	18,293 (50)	2,846 (35)	1,172 (24)	324 (37)	105 (16)	737 (52)	23,59 (50
1970-71	168 (88)	21,306 (60)	3,889 (43)	1,708 (37)	614 (38)	138 (15)	603 (60)	28,42 (53
1975-76	256 (82)	25,011 (61)	5,034 (49)	2,083 (41)	873 (43)	198 (15)	266 (37)	33,76 (55
1980-81	325 (85)	27,973 (65)	6,910 (52)	3,098 (43)	1,000 (45)	238 (15)	320 (38)	38,96 (55

Source : Ministry of Education and Culture

1. Figures in brackets indicate numbers of girls per 100 boys

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Africa											
Congo	1980	-	-	-	-	9.6	1.6	1981	26	11	9
Egypt	1981	90	65	62	46	19.1	10.1	1981	49	32	N
Ethiopia	1981	60	33	16	8	0.9	0.1	1980	22	NA	9
Ghana	1981	84	65	43	26	2.0	0.6	1980	42	21	9
Kenya	1981	110	101	24	16	-	-	1975	29	NA	N
Mauritius	1982	107	105	53	49	1.2	0.4	1982	44	NA	16
Nigeria	1970	47	27	-	-	-	-	1970	24	18	N
Uganda	1982	69	51	11	5	0.9	0.3	1981	29	14	7
Tanzania	1981	107	98	4	2	0.7	0.1	1981	37	27	10
Zambia	1980	102	90	22	12	-	-	1980	40	NA	7
Zimbabwe	1982	130	121	27	19	0.1	0.8	1982	36	NA	17
Barbados	1980	117	117	84	85	12.6	14.6	1980	NA	NA	28
Cuba	1982	112	105	70	75	18.0	20.6	1982	76	48	40
Mexico	1981	122	120	54	49	18.9	10.1	1970	61	33	NA
Chile	1982	133	110	56	62	12.5	8.2	1979	74	52	20
Colombia	1981	129	132	45	51	13.2	10.7	1981	79	45	21

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